/97 cont./

585 I am invoking the benignant spirits of union
782 To this mundane world.
539 The mission is none other than
To officiate at this marriage rite.
[776] We ask the Heaven Uniting Spirit,
The Earth Uniting Spirit,
The Year Uniting Spirit,
The Day Uniting Spirit,
The Hour Uniting Spirit,
The twelve uniting spirits and twelve uniting fairies,
Tung Wang Kung /Lord of the East, leader of the male immortals/
Hsi Wang Mu /Lady of the West, female immortals/ " " "
[821] The Cowherd and the Weaving Girl /names of stars/
And the Old Immortal in the moon."

585 At this point he takes a cup of wine and a piece of meat,
[788] and writes out an incantation. After burning this he asks the
groom to drink half of the wine and to eat half of the meat,
[264] the rest being for the bride when she comes in. These are called
[756] the uniting wine and the uniting meat. After the sorcerer priest has finished this performance, he sets off firecrackers and leads the bride into the house through a small side door. She sits down beside the fire pit, in which a huge fire has been started. The chair is placed slightly farther away for fear that the fire would give out too much heat. The chair cannot be pushed
[777] backward; it can only be pulled forward. The movement backward is recognized to be inauspicious; the forward movement then is auspicious. The sitting direction must be facing inside or in the direction of the ancestral tablet. After being seated she first washes her face with water. It has been boiled in a
[824] cooking pot with t'ung grass, pa-lun grass, and huang-mao grass, taken out and put in a basin, and incantations written and recited. While the bride is washing her face, the sorcerer
[756] priest sweeps with a broom several times behind her. After washing, she eats the meat and drinks the wine left by the groom.

/131 cont./

*782 strung together in strings /skewers?/ of meat. There are 14 strings of seven slices each and 18 strings of nine slices each. The relatives by marriage, of a different surname, i.e. the mother's family and the wife's family, are invited to the function beforehand; and the mother's brother or the wife's maternal uncle are considered to belong to the lower generation for the ceremony.

On the first night the first part is performed, which they call the opening of the affair. A large table is set up in the middle of the house. On it are placed five bowls of wine and five bowls of meat, one bowl of sour soup, one plate of cut-up beef, and a wooden bucket on which is placed a dried rice shoot. [788] The sorcerer-priest's performance consists of first setting off firecrackers, next blowing a signal horn, and last beating a gong and drum, which is the end.

/132/ The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth parts are performed on the second day. In the morning the second part [769] [776] is performed, which is the sacrifice to the grandparents and the house kuei. A small table is placed outside the main entrance. On it is placed an upper millstone upside down. A wooden bucket is placed on the stone, and on it are put a knife, two dried rice shoots, a few shoots of cow grass, and a sheaf of t'u-t'ou pai-yeh. There is also a tray with five cups of wine and a certain number of slices of cut-up beef. No beeswax is burned and the sorcerer-priest only utters an incantation and that is all.

[776] [263] The third part is the sacrifice to the thunder kuei. It is very important not to eat any salt, because of the Miao superstition that the thunder kuei is very much afraid of salt. (1)

1. See "Myths about the Flood, 1 and 2" in the chapter, "Legends." 1/1

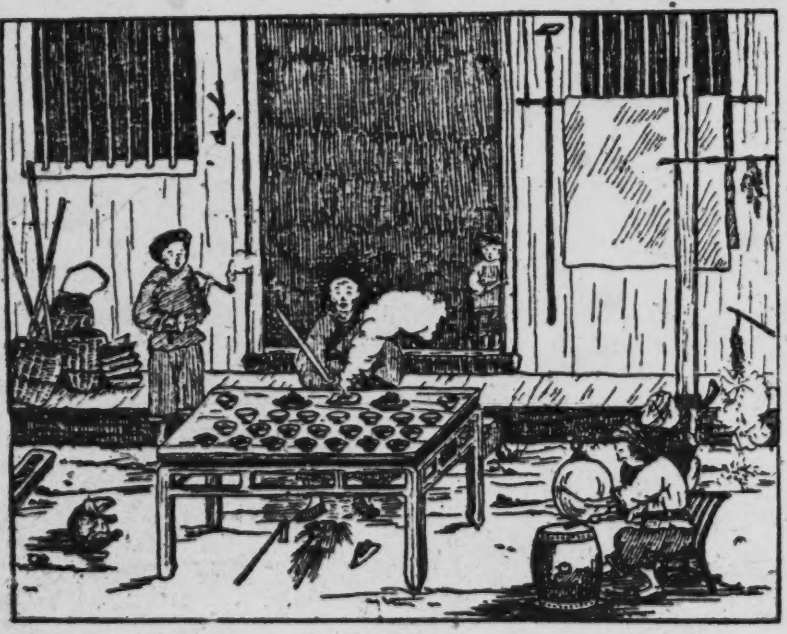
A large table is also set outside the fire entrance /? huo men/ and under it are put a hoe, rain clothes, and a plow. Moreover, on the table is put a tile, in the center of which are put a few small lumps of charcoal on which to burn the beeswax. Then

1/1 [this chapter has not been translated - ANALYST]

/132 cont./

*782 they spread seven bowls each of wine, cooked rice, and water-buffalo meat, a bowl of tea, and a bowl of sour soup. Altogether there are 23 bowls. In addition they put out two large bowls of water-buffalo meat, and place beside the table a live pig, whose four legs are tied up. On the outside wall of the house is hung a red rug. /Illus. 59 appears here./ /133/ A spear piercing a piece of wood stands upside down on the ground beside the blanket. The sorcerer-priest sits down at the right side, holding a double-edged sword in the right hand, a sheaf of t'u-t'ou-pai-yeh in the left, and a bracelet. He utters an incantation, while attendants hold the [788] wine pot and pass the wine, blow the signal horn, beat the gong and drum, and set off firecrackers, as in Illus. 59. First, seven strings

[342]
[352]
[415]
[412]
[291]



Illus. 59. Eating Pigs, A.

/133 cont./

782 of water-buffalo meat are offered, one string being offered each time, and ending with the seventh string. Then after the pig is offered to the kuei by the sorcerer-priest, the pig is sent to the kitchen to be killed and cooked. Then the cut-up meat of the pig and the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs are distributed in seven bowls and offered to the kuei.

The fourth part is performed in the afternoon toward evening. A small table is set outside the entrance, on which are placed incense, rice, and li-shih (1), and a pair of green candles

1. Li-shih, a kind of paper horse.

as well as five cups of wine.

The fifth part is performed at night after the first night watch is sounded. Two large tables are put together in the middle room. It is surrounded by a number of benches. On the tables are spread out 12 bowls of wine in two rows, six in a row, and 12 bowls of cooked rice in one long row. On top of each bowl of rice is a piece of pork and a pair of chopsticks stuck in it. There are also 12 bowls of meat, placed like the bowls of rice in a long row. In front of the bowls of meat are a bowl of tea and a bowl of sour soup. On one corner of the table is a wooden bucket, on which are two dried rice shoots and a double-edged sword. The sorcerer-priest and the members of the lower generation as well as the close relatives of the same clan sit down around the table. The sorcerer-priest performs his ritual, and the rest light fire-crackers, blow the signal horn, and beat the drum, filling the hall with rumbling and roaring.

[788]

The sixth part is performed after the second watch is sounded. A long door plank is set up outside the ground floor. On the plank are laid nine bowls of wine, nine bowls of meat, nine bowls of sweet wine, a bowl of sour soup, and a bowl of tea. On the right side is placed an upper millstone, on which is set up a rice bucket on which are put a dried rice shoot and a double-edged sword. The sorcerer-priest and three members of the lower generation are seated in a row, and behind them is hung a red rug.

/141 cont./

*782 also must provide a sharp spear and a large creeper. The spear is used to stab the ox, and the creeper, to tie its head.

/142/ The Bludgeoning the Ox sacrifice to the kuei is the most lavish affair of the Miao. In addition to the water buffalo, the host also has to buy a common ox, two pigs, two chickens, and incense and paper, firecrackers, sweet wine, and sour fish. The relatives all have to send gifts.

[178] Formerly the Miao Bludgeoning-the-Buffalo sacrifice to the kuei lasted for five days, but now it lasts only three days. The first day is to honor the guests. That morning the "leg-bearing" relatives arrive in formation. As they approach the host's [188] house they set off firecrackers and play music. The host comes out to welcome them by burning incense and paper before them and kowtowing three times. The Miao consider that the water buffalo kuei comes with the mother's brother. By the time the lamps are lit in the evening, most of the guests invited have arrived; and after supper men and women guests begin to sing [533] [535] songs (see the chapter "Folk Songs," songs Nos. 29 and 30, "Eating Ox Song," and songs 33, 34, and 35, called "Beating the Flower Drum Song" /not translated/) and dance drum dances. The Chinese call the Miao drum dances "beating monkey drums." (See "Drum Dances and Amusements.") The host first starts the drumming, followed by the "leg-bearing" relatives, then by other guests according to the degree of relationship with the host, and last by the helpers. At the same time the sorcerer-priest begins his performance, using two large tables put together in the main house to make a long table, on which are then spread rice husks, on which are placed wine bowls, meat bowls, an iron tripod holding a tin can, and an upper millstone. The table is surrounded on all four sides with a number of plank benches. The sorcerer-[292] priest and four "leg-bearing" relatives properly dressed in full dress, and sometimes they wear spirit robes /shen p'ao/. The sorcerer-priest sits in the middle and the four men sit next. Those who blow trumpets and beat drums and gongs sit below. The sorcerer-priest, ringing a hand bell with his right hand and holding a chiao-tzu in his left hand, begins uttering an incantation.

/142 cont./

*782 After each passage the musicians play their instruments a while. When the sorcerer-priest has occasion to stand up, the four "leg-bearing" men who accompanied the kuei also stand up; when the sorcerer-priest sits down, the "leg-bearing" men also sit down; when he presents wine, they must also do so. From first to last it is done nine times until late at night.

In the morning of the second day the sorcerer-priest orders the helpers to go outside the village to choose an open area to erect Five-Flower pillars. After the pillars are erected they make bamboo rings with bamboo strips and put them around the pillars. A piece of hemp rope is used to tie the nose of the ox to the bamboo ring. The creeper brought by the "leg-bearing" relatives are used to bind up the horns so that the animal cannot hurt anyone with the horns, see Illus. 63. After the arrangements have been finished, the sorcerer-priest is asked to make an inspection, and if he finds everything satisfactorily arranged, then they can proceed. The host then changes into new clothes, and offers wine and meat as sacrifices to the kuei, burns incense [788] and paper, and kneels three times and kowtows nine times facing the ox. At the same time the sorcerer-priest utters an incantation, telling the origin of the ox kuei. After the incantation is finished, the mother's brother takes hold of the spear and acts as if he were chasing the ox to stab it. The spear is then taken by a young man to do the actual stabbing of the animal. At the same time the din from the drums and gongs rends the air and the ox runs around the Five-Flower pillars. /Illus. 63 appears between pp. 142 and 143./ /143/ with the man pursuing and repeatedly stabbing, until the animal is dazed and falls to the ground. [787] They note the direction in which the head falls to decide whether the sign is auspicious or not. If the head faces toward the host's house, it is a good omen; if the head faces away, then it is a bad omen.

After the animal has been stabbed to death, then the meat is divided up. The head and heart, liver, entrails, and bowels go to the host to be used to sacrifice to the kuei. The left and right hind legs go to the "first- and second-leg-bearing" relatives,

/144 cont./

*782 776 The first part consists of the invocation of the kuei, in Miao called [zaɨ piaŋ]. There are four kuei invoked: [naŋ nai kueŋ tioŋ], [naŋ mai kueŋ lieŋ], [kueŋ bu kueŋ teŋ], and [kueŋ zoŋ kueŋ piaŋ]. According to Miao sorcerers the four kuei are two males and two females, the most respected kuei in heaven. The invocation of the kuei takes place in front *782 of the main house. The sorcerer-priest hangs out the paper streamers which he cut the previous day in the host's house on three tree trunks. He then encircles the tree trunks with paper banners planted to form a semicircle. At the foot of the steps is a small table, on which are laid out 12 bowls, bottoms up, and wine is poured into the hollows of the bottoms instead of wine cups. In another small bowl burns beeswax. The Miao sorcerer stands on the steps, holding the chiao in his right hand and ringing [788] a hand bell in his left hand, mumbling some phrases to himself. He then begins to invoke the kuei (Illus. 64). Before he utters the incantation, he first calls out /ha ji jo o ho ho/. His incantation follows, with the general purport as given below:

> "The sun rises and the sun sets. The smoke from the beeswax in the dish rises to the sky and leads the kuei to this house. This beeswax is burned by my (the sorcerer designates himself) hand. The smoke from the wax rises up the mountain slope, while I, the sorcerer-priest, stand here before this house. The smoke from the wax changes to mist, shrouding the mountain slope and the sorcerer-priest. The smoke from the wax goes up to the sky and together with the mist /Illus. 64 appears here/ /146/ protects the world. The kuei, not knowing the sorcerer-priest, are frightened. I do it three times, and burn three piles of beeswax. The smoke from the wax drifts before the sorcerer-priest's altar, leading down my patron saints. We ask hundreds and thousands of honorable patron saints to come here. Such and such patron priests... (calling the patron saints by name) have all come! Please do not forsake me. In front is the entrance, behind is the city; in front is the

/150 cont./

*782 824 bowls each of wine and meat and a bowl of beeswax. The Miao sorcerer sits in front of the table, beating a bamboo tube with his right hand and uttering the incantation to send away the old trees' supernatural forces. The general purport of the incantation /151/ is to request the kuei to go away quickly after partaking of the wine and meat, for the children in the village after hearing the strange noise are terrified. Among the phrases of the incantation is "kill a goat to sacrifice to the kuei." This shows that previously the goat was also used as an object of sacrifice but now it is spared; the text of the incantation, however, has remained unchanged. After one section has been [788] recited, he stops beating the bamboo tube. He starts ringing the bell with his left hand and continues the incantation. At the [787] same time he performs divination with the chiao-tzu. If the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, the supernatural forces are considered to have departed. If he gets the yang chiao, they have not gone, and the incantation and the divination have to be repeated until either the sheng chiao or the yin chiao appears, when the kuei may be sent away by burning the paper money.

(9) Cleansing the House

*782 783 If one's house has been lived in by a family of a different surname, the master of the house must ask a Miao sorcerer to cleanse the house after that family moves out, otherwise, the owner after living there would not be prosperous. Cleansing the [776] house in Miao is called [ndzɜ˨ pɐɤ˥]. The two kuei invoked are [deiʌ ʔɐɔ˥ nogɣ dɛ˨] and [deiʌ lɑ˥ nogɣ qa˥]. The time is any time during broad daylight, and the place may be anywhere inside the house, either in the main room or in the side room, facing outside the door. A table is set up, and on it placed five bowls of wine, five pieces of pork, five piles of mi-pa, and five pieces of tofu/bean curd/. A piece of green cloth 6 ch'ih long is spread out on the ground under the table. On the cloth are one or two strings of copper yuan; they also use a cock, whose two wings are tied to a leg of the table. They do not use beeswax, but only use three slender sticks of incense stuck up in the mi-pa. The

/156 cont./

243 *782 have come with soldiers and horses, and have prepared the wax and the bamboo tube, and have spread out wine, meat, and rice as well as the paper money, and request the kuei to come to receive them."

[788] At this point the sorcerer-priest stands up, picks up the bell and the chiao, and then resumes his seat, ringing the bell with his left hand, holding the chiao in his right hand, and continuing the incantation:

"Now we come to sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains with good wine, good meat, and cooked large-grain rice, and a lot of paper money, and ask the kuei to receive them. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest! When the weather gets warm, when the hundred flowers blossom, and when the birds begin to sing, when we sow the five grains, may the sprouting grain be green and luxuriant, and by the fifth and sixth month may they form ears, without being eaten by locusts. May the harvest of the five grains in the ninth and the tenth month be abundant. We ask the kuei to finish up the wine and meat, gather the paper money, and go back. Protect the five grains so that there is an abundant harvest, and the six kinds of domestic animals increase!"

[787] While he is uttering the incantation, at the same time he divines with the chiao, first for the five grains, then for the six domestic animals. The yang chiao and the sheng chiao are auspicious. The yin chiao is a bad omen. After the divination is over, paper is burned to send off the kuei.

*782 [946] [755] Again, when a Miao woman has given birth or someone has a stomach-ache, they also sacrifice to the kuei of the five grains. The kuei invoked and the layout for the ritual are the same as above. The text of the incantation then requests the kuei of the five grains to protect the baby or to cause the person's stomach-ache to stop.

/157 cont./

*782 [292] [843] his head and a long robe, and rides a horse. The women accompanying him must be gaily dressed, and no pregnant woman is allowed to go along. The men assisting beat drums and blow musical instruments and set off firecrackers. Led by a sorcerer-priest the procession stops at the intersection of three crossroads about three or four li from the village. The sorcerer-priest then shouts for the dragon, whereupon music and firecrackers once more make a great din, and the procession turns back. When they arrive outside the village, the host and the male members of the family, each carrying incense and paper, are led from the house by another sorcerer-priest to greet them. After the welcome the two sorcerers enter in a dialogue. The male members of the host's family and the maternal uncle salute each other three times. The sorcerer-priests ring hand bells and lead the people into the house, and drums and music and firecrackers burst out in a great din. The maternal uncle and the other relatives return to their respective homes. After that a small hole is dug in the ground in the main house, in which is put a bowl of cinnabar water, which is covered by a stone slab. Upon the slab is a large rock, shaped like an egg. This is called the "dragon chamber." The sorcerer-priest rings the hand bell and utters an incantation, and the members of the host's family, men and women, go around the small hole three times, while music and firecrackers rend the air, after which the hole is filled with earth, with only the top of the dragon chamber exposed as a distinguishing mark.

● [788]

(15) Warming the Ox Muzzle

*782 777 731 [774] Warming the Ox Muzzle is also called "Sacrifice to the Black Emperor Earth Lord," in the Miao language [ɹiɛ⁴ ɕioɴ ba⁴ loŋ⁴ ɲie⁴]. When the Miao meet with disaster or financial loss, they sacrifice to this kuei. The names of the kuei are [mp'a¹ tsuɴ lioɴ tɕɹ⁴] and [ɲiɴ tsuɴ lioɴ ntɕ'iɴ]. The time of this ceremony is during the day and the place is by the side of the left pillar of the main house. A table is placed next to the pillar. On it are laid 12 bowls of wine, 12 bowls of meat, and one bowl

/165/

*782 [292] holding the chiao-tzu in his right hand and standing before the table, the sorcerer-priest utters the An-shen incantation. On finishing the incantation he blows the ox horn, and his helpers beat drums and gongs. The sorcerer-priest changes into red clothes and dons ceremonial headgear, and makes gestures with both hands toward the house and toward the open space, doing the three-step walk with his two feet forming a triangle. After this performance he takes a rest. The host collects the mi-pa and tofu from the three places and fries them in camellia oil. After being

[788]

Illus. 71. Sacrifice to Kung-an Shen, A.

/166 cont./

*782 The ritual for the fifth-grade sacrifice is performed with a large table, a small table, a chair, and a stool, piled up to form an altar. The layout on the lowest, large table is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice, and the layouts on the chair and the stool are the same as those for the third-grade sacrifice. The lower altar and the hsi k'ung are arranged as for the first-grade sacrifice. Behind the altar is a bamboo frame, on which are hung 15 strings of paper money. Also a five-colored paper flag is stuck in the ground next to the table. Eight or nine small, five-colored flags are hung on tree branches near the bamboo frame and the table. There are four parts to this performance:

The first part consists of arranging the altar, and the performance is the same as that for the first-grade sacrifice. When it is over, there is a recess, and mi-pa is eaten.

The second part consists of "connecting the streets." The sorcerer-priest wears his red clothing, red headkerchief without the ceremonial headgear, holding the ox horn in his [292] right hand and the ceremonial knife in his left. When gong and drum are sounded, he faces the altar and blows the horn. After [788] this, the horn and the knife in the left and right hands are interchanged, he does the three-step walk, waving and dancing, now facing in, now facing out, at the same time uttering an incantation.

The third part is "making the bridge." The sorcerer-priest wears the same clothes and holds the same ritual articles as in the previous part, except that his left shoulder is covered with a willow towel. When the gong and drum sound, then he blows the horn. After that he interchanges the horn and the knife in his hands, takes the three-step walk, waving and dancing, at the same time uttering an incantation. This performance is done once each in the five directions of east, south, west, north, and center. After this he utters the incantation pledging in wine. The sorcerer-priest then holds the willow towel in his left hand to dance to the music of continuous drumming and beating of gongs, dancing once facing out and twice facing in.

/166 cont./

*782 After dancing a certain number of times this part of the ritual is over.

The fourth part, tasting the cooked food, is done in the same way as for the first-grade sacrifice.

The seventh-grade sacrifice is performed with seven pieces of furniture, tables, chairs, and stools, piled up to form an altar, as in Illus. 72. One of the bottom two tables /Illus. 78 appears on p. 167/ /168/ is arranged like the table for the first-grade sacrifice. The other tables and chairs are arranged like the small tables for the third-grade sacrifice. But the sheng of rice on the lower altar of the seventh table and the hsi k'ung each has a paper spirit tablet stuck up. There are two large flags, one red and one black; there are also 12 small flags, hung up in the same way as in the fifth-grade sacrifice. A cock is also prepared for use after the performance. The ritual is divided into five parts, the first, second, third, and fifth parts being identical to the fourth part of the fifth-grade sacrifice. The addition here is the fourth part of reviewing soldiers. Tasting the cooked food becomes the fifth part. For the ritual of reviewing soldiers, the sorcerer-priest dons his red robe, red kerchief, and ceremonial headgear, and carries a gong in his left hand, a horn in his right. First he blows the horn. Then, putting down the horn, he picks up the
[788] hammer of the gong, and as he utters an incantation he beats the gong. With each beat, he bows to the front and the rear. As he stops bowing, he stops beating. After once more uttering an incantation, he faces the altar and beats the gong nine times, followed by alternate reciting and beating. After this reciting the sorcerer-priest holds the willow towel in his left hand, and on it is placed a stack of paper money. Three sticks of incense are lit and stuck on the paper money, which is held fast with the left thumb. A bowl of rice is then placed on the table. When gong and drum are sounded, he picks up the horn with his right hand and gives a blow. Putting down the horn, he picks up the knife, taking the three-step walk, chanting and dancing, and also squatting to bow three times toward the altar. He once more blows the horn and once more he chants, and at the [illegible]

/179 cont./

*782 *787 and utters the incantation for gathering up the evil kuei. When the incantation is over, he divines. After the sheng or yin chiao is obtained, he hangs up the whip. He takes the ritual knife with his right hand and dips the point in the bowl of water, then raises it up and, swinging right and left, continues the incantation. After he has recited /180/ a passage, the helper beats the gong and the drum, and the sorcerer-priest, holding a wooden bell with both hands, worships the shen to the accompaniment of the beating of the gong and drum for about 15 minutes. When the worship is over, the sorcerer-priest picks up the chiao-tzu and utters the incantation to invoke the shen, first facing the Peach Spring cave, later turning to face out the door, then again turning to the cave. After he has finished invoking the shen, he divines with the chiao, and when the sheng chiao is obtained, this part ends.

*782 The third part is An T'u Ti /"calming the local divinity of the soil"/. Wearing ordinary clothes and standing before the hsi kung, the sorcerer-priest makes a low bow with hands in front, and utters an incantation. First he invokes the shen; then he offers the sacrifices, burns the paper money, and asks the shen to accept these things.

The fourth part is Pu T'an /"displaying the altar"/. [292] The sorcerer-priest wears a red garment, a red headkerchief, ceremonial headgear, and a willow towel on his shoulder. He stands before the Peach Spring cave, gesticulating and beating the gong and the drum at the same time. After this act the •[788] sorcerer-priest leads the host to the shen to make a low bow with both hands in front and to kowtow. Following this ceremony the sorcerer-priest, holding a horn in his left hand and the chiao-tzu in his right, and rapping the former with the latter, utters the incantations to invoke the shen. After having recited a passage, he pulls off the towel with his left hand and begins to shake the ritual knife with his right hand; he ceases beating the gong and the drum, but utters the incantation for pledging in wine. After this, he takes out the previously prepared written prayers from the four prayer boxes and, bowing the knee before the shen, he leads the host to kneel and make obeisance,

/180 cont./

*[787] and reads the petition. After this, amidst the sound of gong and drum, he gives one long blast of the horn. The host then gets up and stands at the side. Holding the prayer box in the left hand and shaking the ritual knife in his right hand, the sorcerer-
●[788] priest takes the three-step walk toward the Peach Spring cave, uttering the incantation to present money. After a passage has been recited, he hangs the ritual knife on his right wrist and gesticulates with his finger as if writing characters on the prayer box. Then he continues his incantation, blowing on the horn at the same time. After two blows, holding the whip in his right hand, he stands up, and first facing inward, he strikes the ground once with the whip, then facing outward, he strikes the ground twice. Turning once more inward, he again strikes the ground, and also blows the horn, Then he utters another incantation passage. Then he turns, facing out the door, and puts the prayer box on a small table and blows the horn once more. When the incantation is finished, he raps the horn with the knife and utters an incantation invoking the meritorious spirits. After the incantation,
*[787] he divines, and, when the sheng or the yang chiao is obtained, he shakes the ritual knife several times, facing the man /men?/ beating the drum and gong, ordering him to stop, and then utters an invocation pledging in wine to the meritorious shen. After pledging with wine three times and pouring it three times, he asks the shen to accept the items on sacrifice. When he divines and the
*[787] sheng chiao appears, he knows that the shen have accepted the articles, and then he burns the four prayer boxes and removes the items on sacrifice. He puts the ritual knife and the whip on the
[823] ground, utters an incantation, and following the eight directions in sequence, east, west, south, north, northeast, southwest, northwest, and southeast, he takes the three-step walk, to make a square, and stamps once on the ground with his feet. After he has gone past the eight directions, he turns to the right of the Peach Spring cave and utters the incantation to invoke the shen and the ancestral spirits of the host. After the incantation, the sorcerer-priest picks up the whip and the ritual knife he had put on the ground and takes the chiao-tzu and the spirit tablets,

/189 cont./

*782 money. There is also a prayer box and a monk's mask. The sorcerer, wearing the red kerchief and red garment, stands before the basket, hitting the small cymbals with both hands and bowing at the same time. After three bows he hits the cymbals against each other and utters the incantation to invoke the shen. After a passage, he picks up the bowl of water and dips the fingers of his right hand into it and flicks the water on the sacrificial offerings. He continues the incantation, picks up the cymbals in his hands and hits each of the cymbals on the edges. The incantation is continued, but after each passage •[788] he hits the edges of the cymbals and bows three times each time. After seven repetitions of the hitting and bowing, he *[787] divines. On obtaining the sheng chiao he pledges with wine. This is followed by the reading of the prayers. The shen are then asked to accept the sacrifices. Paper is burned and the shen are sent off. The sorcerer hits the edges of the cymbals again, walking along the basket in a semicircle, and recites the farewell incantation to the shen. When the incantation is over, he pours out the water from the bowl toward the five directions, east, south, west, north, and center.

The twenty-fourth part is Chiao Hsing /"delivering animals"/. A large table is set up before the Peach Spring cave, and on it are offered a pig and a goat. Stuck in the animals are sticks of incense and candles, and on the side are two butcher's knives. Under the table are offered the viscera of the animals, in which are also stuck sticks of incense and candles. The sorcerer, wearing the red kerchief, ceremonial headgear, and red garment, and carrying the willow towel on the back, stands before the Peach Spring cave, singing the magic words of offering animals. After one passage is sung, first he makes the magic sign of his patron saint with his left hand, and then with his right hand. He announces the names of three generations of ancestors of the host. Then the gong and drum are sounded, and he blows the horn three times, after which he puts it down. His left hand continues to make the magic signs of his patron saint, and he utters magic words asking his patron saint to deliver the animals.

*[787] After the incantation he divines. After the sheng chiao is

/193 cont./

*782 magic words, facing the inside of the house, calling upon the ancestral spirits of three generations to get on their horses.
*[787] For these the sheng chiao is required. After the divination the helpers beat the gong and drum, and at the same time the images of Duke No and Mother No are taken down. First the heads are taken off and given to the host, who places them on the bed. Then the paraphernalia from the dismantled Peach Spring cave are either burned or kept for future use. Then the gong and drum are sounded, the sorcerer blows on his horn, and the helpers come out, carrying the various things one by one in an orderly fashion. The sorcerer follows behind and closes the door for the host, at the same time uttering the incantation for closing doors. Then he opens the door, and utters the incantation for opening doors. After this all of them go to a vacant area of level ground, where rice straw is spread. The prayer box is burned here to the accompaniment of the beating of gong and drum. The sorcerer blows the horn once and then
• [788] places it in the crook of his arms with his hands folded together, the fingers crossed together, and the thumbs going around, and does the three-step walk and utters the incantation for wheeling in money. After each passage he circles once and blows the horn once. Altogether eight passages are uttered, and eight times the horn is blown. A helper then picks up a cock held in readiness and bites through the neck, letting its blood drip down around the spot where the prayer box was burned. Then the sorcerer, holding the horn in his right hand and lifting the left lower corner of his red garment with his left hand, walks around the place where the blood has dripped.
[576] When he returns to his original place, he squats on his heels, puts the horn in between his knees, and utters the incantation for opening the road, performing at the same time. First he
[788] sticks out the middle finger and forefinger of each hand, and then the little fingers and the fourth fingers. Then he joins both hands behind his back, crossing the fingers together. Moving his hands to the front he rotates them on his chest, and then covers his ears with his sleeves. When the acting and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

as in their homes, they could entertain kinsmen who had come in to market. 265

Associations. As far as I could determine, the Cowrie Shell Miao had no associations. 575

Religious Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao had no formally organized religious communities. They did, however, have religious specialists, including priests. These were the men who performed certain ritual acts, though at other times they were just like other members of the community. Like all other members of the community they were farmers, heads or younger members of families, taking part in the usual economic activities of family and village. As priests they did not take the lead in rites of intensification such as calendric feasts and bullfights, as these were family concerns, and the head of the family presided. However, they had a definite part to play in childbirth, preservation of the good fortune of the house and village, death and burial, and the initial acts of a bullfight and the cyclical sacrifice. Rarely was a priest called in in case of illness; usually a shamaness was asked to perform her ritual in such circumstances. There were at least six priests and three shamanesses in the village. In one case a Taoist priest from Kou-ch'ang was asked to conduct his ritual in behalf of a sick woman. This consisted of chanting and shaking his pieces of iron and clappers as he moved about in a loose-jointed manner. In another instance a woman from a different village came to perform in behalf of a sick child. 793 791 771

Once in the village and once in Lung-li, I saw something which the head of our family told me was "Our P'u Sa." The Lung-li postmaster, a native of the province, said it was "a country superstition," not believed in by the Lung-li Chinese. *P'u Sa* is the Chinese word for Buddha and is often loosely used, as here, just for "deity." A man came to the village with a little red, wooden house on a bamboo pole which he set up before each house in turn, much as the priest and his assistants went from house to house "to bring good fortune." I did not find out whence he had come. The little house could stand firmly without support. The man stood beside it and chanted in Miao, beating the side of the house as he did so, and a gong suspended below the shrine 778 788

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

778 between "verses." There was an inscription
788 on the roof, and others were about the opening, all in Chinese. Inside were three large heads made of wood, of which one looked rather like a Buddha, one a fierce god with moustaches, and one just stern and calm. This last was in the center and had a red canopy like a tent around it. There were also two fierce-looking smaller figures, one on each side. There was a square block of wood inside the shrine, as well. On top were long pheasant tail feathers; at some of the houses they added more. Beside the feathers there was a bag of rice, into which a small measure of rice was put by someone in each household. At the left of the entrance, looking out, was a red bag containing incense sticks. Some lighted ones were stuck in before the entrance. At some houses they added these, also, and at least one household gave him a dollar. At the right of the entrance was suspended from the roof a ring of iron rope with some iron disks on it, and a dagger which stuck into the floor of the shrine. This ring was rather like that shaken by Taoist priests as they chanted. Below and in front hung a row of cloth strips with inscriptions on them and a polished bull's horn — not a water buffalo horn but much smaller. In front, across the shrine and hanging below it, was a cord with hemp strings tied to it at intervals.

I saw the same sort of a shrine on Lung-li streets at New Year's time. However, there it was more dilapidated and had only two pheasant feathers, the one middle head, the bag of incense sticks, the row of cloth strips, and the cord with hempen strings. The bag for rice lay on the ground behind it. The

*The soul, the spiritual part of man that ascends to heaven.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

two priests were not the same, but the chant was the same and they had the same bored air. In both cases I believe they were saying prayers for the good fortune of the house and at the same time receiving a little rice as a fee.

Ritual Structures. The village contained no temple structure. Miss Li said that at one time the people here had a temple which was destroyed by soldiers — perhaps in the fighting between imperial forces and those who resisted them, hundreds of years ago. While I was there they had only three T'u Ti Miao (shrines to the local deity) containing cone-shaped stones, like part of a white stalagmite, not images such as one finds in comparable Chinese shrines. I saw similar shrines at the entrances to other Miao villages, along the highway, and near the buffalo bullfighting meadow at Yang-niu-ts'un. In every house there was a shrine to ancestors and the gods of the household.

Deities. Like the Chinese, the Cowrie Shell Miao revered ancestral spirits and believed in two spirits for each individual, one of which, the *hun*,[3] was directed in the ritual of the "opening of the way" to "the level land of heaven," and the other, the *kuei*,[4] remained near the earth and could be a source of evil influences were it not kept in good humor by offerings such as those at the time of a death. At the three shrines to the local deity the men only conducted a ritual, on the third day of the third month. In this case they appear to have modified one of the Chinese festivals. In the course of their ritual the shamanesses, I was told, invoked spirits which they called "P'an," "P'ei ch'ao," and "T'ei ch'ao."

[3] The soul, the part of man that becomes a disembodied spirit.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

women. One man of fifty-odd died from the kick of a cow, one of nearly seventy of heart trouble. Two old women of eighty-four and seventy-six died of old age. There were at least thirteen births in the period. This would have resulted in a slight increase in population had there not been families who moved to other villages.

Priests. The day that the wife of Cheng-hsiang was in labor for her second son, the old man who lived in the other part of their house and who was a head carpenter and a maker of bamboo articles such as scoops and baskets, set a bowl of rice grains with three lighted incense sticks in it on a bench and a bowl of wine on the floor in front of it. Then, holding a small chicken in his left hand, he chanted in Miao, cast lots with four pieces of bamboo, spilled out some of the wine, and then cast lots again. Finally he spilled all of the wine, took up the bowl of rice, and the bamboo pieces and went away. This was done in the room outside of the one in which she was confined, and the priest faced her door as he went through the ritual.

On that same day I saw the oldest and most proficient priest in the village squatting before a tripod of bamboo branches, behind and facing the corner of that house. Before him were a bowl of rice and one of wine. As he chanted he cast lots with pieces of bamboo. A boy from the house before which he was chanting brought him a piece of smoked pork in a loop of straw, a small bundle of straw, and a cleaver. He cut off a piece of the meat and put it on the burning straw, after which he spilled some of the wine on the ground.

Twice I saw this man with two younger men going solemnly from house to house. The first time the older man carried a bowl of rice, one of the others a gong, and the third a long staff of bamboo with colored paper streamers and leaves at the top, and a bag with rice in it. The man who carried the gong struck it as they went from one house to the next. At each house the older man entered and set his bowl of rice on a stool or bench, then, facing the door, chanted. The man with the staff and rice bag set the former down beside the door and both younger men went in. In each house they gave them a small measure of rice for the bag. The second time

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the older man carried a live duck and a bowl of wine, one of the younger men a bag for rice, and the other a staff with leaves and white paper streamers, and a handful of spirit money. The older man chanted as before and kept muttering to himself as he went from one house to another. They told me this was called *sao ho hui.* 788 793

The activities of the priest in connection with death and burial have already been described. The priest also has a part to play in connection with bullfights (see pp. 76–80).

The ritual which Miss Li saw took place just outside of the village in the presence of the baby's father. This priest had before him a bowl of rice and one of wine. In his arm he held a live duck. After he had chanted he set an egg into the bowl of rice, spilled some of the wine, felt in the earth for "the child's spirit, or soul," wrapped up a bit of the earth in a cloth and gave it to the father, who took it and the duck and went home. The child died. 788 755 793

Before the taoist priest chanted, a table was set up before the shrine to the house god in the main hall of the house, partly in and partly out of the pile of unhulled rice lying there. Along the front of the table was the festoon of wooden daggers which usually hung above the door of this house. On the table were one of the priest's sacred books, a banner of white paper in a bamboo stick, a measure of rice with incense sticks in it, several bowls, and some bamboo lots. I had been invited to have supper with them because I had been helping them cut rice that day. While we were waiting for supper to be prepared in the home of the son, next door, we sat in the front side room in which the wife of the head of the house lay on a pallet of straw by the fire. The priest showed me three books from a bagful which he had brought with him. One contained his chants, one charts of the face with points marked on it, and the third explanations of the meaning of the dragon and other sacred things. Before he chanted again he took down a book which he had laid on the woven bamboo shelf above the fire, and placed it on the table. The three books I had been examining he put where the first book had been.

This man was dressed in a pair of loose khaki trousers and an old jersey. As he sang

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

or chanted, he was quite lively, sometimes facing the shrine, sometimes the door. In his right hand he jangled a chain with pieces of iron on it, and with his left hand he clacked pieces of wood. While he chanted he directed one of the sons of the family to burn spirit money at the door. Some had been burned before the table during the afternoon. He ate supper with us, but left early and went back to chant again.

This was the only home in the village which had the festoon of wooden daggers. I saw them in a Ch'ing Miao village near An-shun, where snail shells from a certain mountain were used in the same way, as a charm against evil. The Ch'ing Miao houses also had many imprints of hands in lime, and crude drawings of men, one holding a dagger, in lime on the outer walls of their houses. There they also hung up the placenta of a child in a bowl over the door. In Yünnan where I saw the hands in lime on the houses it was said to be a charm against disease, or to have been put on a house where a death had occurred. In Lung-li one of these priests was called in on behalf of the postmaster when he was ill. The procedure was about the same, but a chicken was killed and eaten by the family and by his wife's relatives, who had been visiting them and who had called in the priest.

The Priestess, or Shamaness. (In Miao, "*mu la*" or "*mo wa.*") There were three women in the village who were able to go into a trance, sing a certain song, and get a message from the spirits in times of trouble or illness. The eldest one, nearly sixty years old, was said by Miss Li to be famous for her skill. The one surnamed T'ang moved away while I lived in Lung-li. All of them sang in Miao, though Miss Li said the oldest one also sang in Chinese. Their instructions to the one who brought them the articles they used in the ceremony and their message were either in Chinese or in Miao. Usually the ritual lasted nearly two hours. The most elaborate one I saw lasted almost all day. Afterward a good meal was prepared, of which the main dish was the fowl — chicken or duck — killed during the ceremony. The shamaness was the

[*] Thirty cents in Chinese currency.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

741 788 755

guest of honor. One priest told Miss Li that in his own village he received nothing for his services, but that in another village he would be given a fowl, eggs, or rice. The woman received a few *mao*[9] to several dollars and was given choice pieces from the meal to take home.

Miss Li said one woman told her she had received power to perform this ceremony after she had had a serious illness, "died," and recovered. Certain actions were performed by all of them, but the oldest woman, whom I saw just once, was much more natural and spontaneous in what she did, less stiff in her movements. She also seemed to be able to see what she was doing and fully conscious as she gave instructions. I took down what I saw of the activities of all of them in general and of one ceremony in detail. It still remains to take down the words of the song, translate them, and correlate them with the actions.

The ceremony was always performed beside one of the floor fires indoors. The shamaness sat on a low stool or bench before the fire, with other women and children about it. The one for whom the ceremony was held was required to be present throughout, if possible. Others came and went. One or more, usually older persons, listened for the message. Others talked or listened as they pleased, sometimes exclaiming over something that was said, but most of the time seeming to pay no attention at all. Before the ceremony began certain articles were placed on a round, flat bamboo tray, commonly used in winnowing, on a bench at the side of the room. One person in the family saw to it that these or other articles were brought to the shamaness as she required them. Children were reproved for imitating her, though at other times they learned to sing her song.

Before she began her ceremony, the shamaness always put a white or blue cloth over her face. The cloth of her turban held it in place. Then she put her hands over her face and sighed, or sat stiffly erect and whistled a long-drawn-out note or a little of the song. Her feet began to move. Usually the knees moved rapidly and stiffly up and down, the toes of

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

her feet never leaving the floor. She began her song, which was interrupted by speaking and action. As she sang, her hands assumed various positions: clasped in her lap close to her body, clasped around her knees, held stiffly out in front, held straight out to the side or back of the bench with the hands fluttering rapidly from the wrist, hung loosely at her sides before the bench, or resting lightly upon it, with one hand raised before the face, or both hands lying quietly clasped in her lap. When she spoke she often bent forward and put her hand down with the fingers touching the ground, as if feeling for something. She panted, sighed, or coughed, as if tired. She whistled, hissed, or clapped her hands. She always directed that fire be carried to the door once or three times during the ceremony, or that spirit money be burned on the floor by the tray. The one who carried fire to the door — a bundle of straw, several pieces of spirit money, or incense sticks — knelt down and, a Chinese girl told me, called the spirit to return. The ceremony ended as she swung a bowl containing wine or some other liquid in her right hand, then turned it abruptly upside down on the floor. She put her hands to her face and in a little while removed the cloth. Actions in between varied with the performer and the nature of the trouble which called for the ceremony.

I do not know the nature of the trouble in one case, but in all others but one it was illness which, if a physician had been consulted, would have called for internal medicine. Usually it had to do with the stomach or intestines. It seemed to me that every time I was asked to give medicine for worms, dysentery, or other intestinal complaint, they also called in the shamaness. The local Chinese firmly believed that Miao women could cause intestinal trouble and even death by transferring a poison from their bodies to that of another, and it may be that they feared I could do that, too! Once a child had worms, once another had dysentery, once a young man had some stomach trouble, once a woman had heart trouble with edema. Once Cheng-hsiang was long in returning after being taken by soldiers.

In one ceremony an egg was tied three times into a long, blue cloth, which the shamaness tied over her right shoulder so that the egg

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

was on her back. Once she tied a pinch of ashes in it; once she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt, and once she washed her left hand with ashes in it in a small tub of water. When a knot in the end of a cloth was thrust under a bamboo frame roofed with brown paper, she laid on it an intricate knot of straw which she had made. When she struck the frame into the fire with a hatchet the straw knot went with it. In another ceremony one egg was carried, still in the blue cloth, to the loft above the stable.

Following are the detailed accounts of actions in three ceremonies. In one case movements of hands and feet are correlated with the others.

(a) For Lao-hsi, a boy of ten, whose case I had diagnosed as worms. I gave santonine and calomel. His disposition had improved greatly by the time they called in the shamaness. It was one of the longest ceremonies I saw. Motions of hands and feet are not given, nor are singing and speaking correlated with the rest in this account. As for the actions and articles used:

First a bamboo scoop of fine ashes was brought. Of them she made two heaps on the hearth stone and patted them firm. A bamboo arch with dried plants and white paper imitations of them fastened to the uprights, and orange paper strips hanging from the crest of the arch, was given to her. She inserted the uprights in the mounds. Two bowls of wine, two bowls of small pieces of fried pork, and three pieces of the round, white glutinous rice cakes were brought. She arranged them as follows: the bowls of pork between the two piles and in line with them, the bowls of wine in front of the other bowls (toward her), and the pieces of cake resting against the outside of the piles of ashes. A second, smaller arch was brought and she set it across the bowl of pork to her right, parallel to the upright of the other arch. A live duck was given her to hold and a duck's egg was put into her right hand. This she broke into the hot ashes of the fire. (After these and succeeding eggs were cooked they were taken away by someone other than the attendant.) She held the duck in her outstretched right hand and let its wings flutter, then gave it back. A hatchet was put into her right hand, the bowls were moved to one side,

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Misc AE5

788 725 791 and the frame was taken away. She struck the hatchet down into the firepit between the piles of ashes and put pinches of them twice to the right ear, once to the left, again to the right and finally to the left, assuming a listening attitude each time. A second duck's egg was given her, which she also broke into the ashes. The attendant brought the duck again, but she did not take it.

Everything was taken away but one bowl, which remained by her left knee. An axe was put on the ground at her right. She took it up and used it in the same way as she had used the hatchet, taking up pinches of ashes as before. A piece of cured pork tied in straw so that it could be carried by it was brought. She put it into the ashes of the fire. The piles of ashes were taken away. The axe was brought and used as before. A *sheng* measure of rice was set before her and five split sticks with triangles of white paper inserted in the clefts were prepared and given to her. These she stuck into the four corners and the center of the measure. A hen's egg was brought, which she broke into the ashes. The measure of rice and the pennants were then taken away and set back on a pile of rice on the tray at the side of the room. This tray also contained incense sticks, spirit money, a pile of unhulled glutinous rice, and the bowls of rice, pork, and tea.

The attendant now lighted some incense sticks and put them, with five pieces of spirit money, a bowl of cooked rice, one of pieces of pork, one of tea, and the five pennants on a smaller bamboo tray and took them out of the room. A red thread and a green one were laid across the outstretched hands of the woman. Another bamboo frame was set before her, a piece of brown paper was laid on top, and three strips of red paper with inscriptions laid on top of that. She took up the axe in her hands. A long piece of blue cloth was brought. She tied a knot in one end and stuck it under the frame. She knocked the frame into the fire with the axe, while the attendant pulled the cloth away.

The piece of pork in its straw holder was given to her again. She put it into the ashes. A bowl of water was brought and a bit of

See p. 52.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 755 791 blazing leaf from the fire put into it. She took the bowl in her left hand and poured out some of the water. A bowl of rice was set before her. She poured out a little more of the water, then the remainder, and turned the bowl upside down beside the bowl of rice. The piece of pork was laid between the rice bowl and the firepit. Everything was taken away and the scythe put into her right hand. A small wooden tub with water in it was set near her left hand. She whetted the scythe on the edge of the tub, twisted it in the ashes, took up the pinches of ashes as before, and washed her hands in the tub. A duck's egg was given her, which she set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe five times toward the door. (We had been warned to move just in time.) She put a piece of blazing charcoal into the tub of water, which was then taken away.

A bundle of blazing straw was taken from the fire to the door of the house. Again the tub and scythe were brought and used as before. Another egg was given her and set up on end on the hearth. She threw the scythe twice and put hot ashes into the tub. Fire was taken to the door — a bundle of blazing spirit money. The bowl of tea was put into her right hand, and, as she swung it back and forth, the egg was taken away, wrapped in white paper. As she turned the bowl exactly upside down on the floor at her right the ceremony was completed.

(b) For Chuan-ch'ien,[10] a baby of a year and a half, who had dysentry. Two days before the mother had told me he had a fever. I gave him a small dose of quinine and aspirin. Then I learned that he had dysentery, and gave her bismuth for him. They told me later that he had not taken it. I do not know whether that meant that he would not take it — it is hard for a child to take, being a powder that does not dissolve easily in water — or whether they did not give it. He developed meningitis and died during the night after the ceremony was held.

Early in the morning I saw in the court before the old house water buffalo horns set upright on the stones, with rushes under them. I was told this was a sign to ward off evil.

During the morning I saw a spray of thorn tied with rushes lying at the corner of the stable before the new house. Later, and this must have been part of the ceremony, though I had heard no singing as yet, I saw the baby's mother carry a lighted bundle of straw to an open space before the house foundation in front of House 17, kneel down, and watch it burn. She left a small twig of cassia stuck in the ground and went back to the old house. 788 755 791

[63a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

This was like carrying a bundle of burning straw, incense sticks, or spirit money to the door and calling the soul to return. When I heard the singing I went into the court and the child's grandmother told me to go in. I thought the old man's second wife protested later, but they let me stay. Thus, though the following gives what I saw in detail, I probably must have missed the beginning of the ceremony.

788
755
791

[636]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

DETAILS OF CEREMONY (Speaking and song all in Miao)

Motion of hands	Motion of feet	Singing, and so on
Hanging beside thighs, before bench	Jumping together stiffly, toes not leaving floor	Singing
Right hand raised	" " "	"
Together before knees	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Before knees, but not together	"	Whistle 1 note, singing
On ground twice, fore and middle fingers touching, others under	"	" " " "
	"	Whistle 1 note
Clap once	"	Speaking, whistle, singing
On ground as before	"	Whistle
Hanging, right raised at times	"	Singing
Clap once	"	Speaking
" "	"	Whistle
Taking up pinches of ashes and putting them to right, left, right, left ear	Quiet	Singing, interrupted by two whistles
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Cupped, put down and up as if picking up something	Quiet	"
		Whistle, singing
Repeat; clasped at knees	Quiet	" "
Clap; raise right hand	Jumping	" "
Repeat; cupping, clasping	Quiet	" "
(From this point on the head was kept turning from side to side.)		
Right hand raised	Jumping	Singing, whistle
Repeat cupping, clasping	Quiet	" "
Hanging beside thighs; head still	Jumping	Singing
Clap; repeat; clasped on lap	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing, whistle
Clasped	Quiet	" "
Right hand raised	Jumping	Singing
Hanging by thighs; clap	"	"
Clasped	Quiet	"
Clasped; left raised; clasped	"	"
Left raised; hanging by thighs	Jumping	Singing, whistle
Clap once	Quiet	Long whistle
Brought together; hanging by thighs	Jumping	Quiet
Hand on ground, as above; head turning	Quiet	Speaking
Clap	"	Whistle, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
On ground, as above	Quiet	Whistle, speaking
Clap once	"	Singing

[63c]

4:Mickey E-8 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

•788 Hanging by thighs; clap once	Quiet	Singing, speaking
R. raised; clasped; hanging by thighs	"	Singing
Clap once; clasped	"	Speaking
R. raised; hanging by thighs	"	Whistle, singing
Clasped	"	Speaking, interrupted by whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap and let fall, twice	"	"
Clasped; clap once; clasped	Quiet	Whistle, singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Right on ground, as above	Quiet	Speaking
Clasped	"	Singing
Right gesturing; clasped	"	Speaking
Before knees, but apart	"	"
Right on ground, as above	"	Whistle, speaking
Clasped at body; hanging beside thighs	"	Singing, speaking
Clasped	"	Speaking, interrupted by whistle
Clasped at body	Jumping	Speaking, singing
Right up; hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Right stretched front, thumb and forefinger pinched together	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	"	"
Clap; hanging beside thighs	"	Whistle, singing
Repeat twice	"	Singing
Right, left, right raised in turn	"	Long whistle
Clap twice	"	Repeat; singing
Clap 7 times	Fast jumping	Silent
Held straight out to side, fluttering from wrist	" "	"
Right on ground, as above	Quiet	Singing
Clap 9 times	Jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Held loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clap once	Jumping	"
Hanging loosely in front; right raised	Quiet	"
Takes up pinches of ashes, tucks in back of belt	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times	"	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clasped	"	Whistle
Right raised; hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 5 times	Fast jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	" "	"
Right raised; clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs; clasped	"	"
Hanging by thighs; clap once	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap once	"	"
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	Fast jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 5 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped; clap once	Quiet	Singing

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AES Misc AES

788

THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS

Hatchet put into right hand	Quiet	Speaking
Takes hatchet in both hands	"	"
Strikes hatchet down, then up	"	Singing
Strikes hatchet down into ashes of fire-pit	"	Whistle, singing
Takes up in left hand pinches of ashes, holds to right, left, right, left ear	Squatting	Whistle, singing
Puts pinch of ashes in back of belt	"	Singing
Holds hatchet in right hand	"	Speaking
Lets hatchet fall	"	Singing
Takes up hatchet, then lays it down	"	"
(A piece of meat in a straw loop was offered to her, but she did not take it.)		
An egg was given to her, which she set up on end on the hearth	Squatting	Speaking
Clap once	"	Singing
Takes up hatchet	"	Singing, speaking alternate
Puts hatchet down	"	
Clasp; clap once; clasped	*Mu la*[11] back on bench, quiet	Whistle, singing, speaking
Hanging loosely; clasped	Quiet	Singing, whistle alternate
Right raised; hanging loosely	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
A hen was given, her which she held by its wings with the left hand. With the right she pulled out some down and let it fall into the ashes. Let hen go.	Squatting	Speaking
Repeated, but did not let hen go again	"	Singing, speaking
Hatchet put into right hand	"	Speaking
Almost severed hen's head, holding it on a board placed before her	"	Singing
Put hen in ashes, where it died	"	Singing
	Mu la back on bench	Speaking
(The hen was later made the chief dish of the feast.)		
Hanging beside thighs; clap once	Jumping	Singing
Loosely in front	Quiet	Speaking
Right on ground, as above	"	Singing, whistle alternate; speaking, whistle, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
She was given a small bundle of straw, which she tied in 3 bunches below and 5 above the straw which bound it, then held it in her left hand	Quiet	"
(Meanwhile the old man's first wife had been whittling 3 pieces of wood into the shape of knives, which she now striped black on the handles.)		
She set the straw bundle on the floor at her left, and various persons capped the 5 bunches with egg shell		Whistle, singing alternate
Hanging loosely in front	Jumping	Singing
Clasped in lap	"	Whistle
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	
She took up bundle with egg shells on it	"	Singing

[11] The Mino word for shenapen.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788

She took off shells	Quiet	Whistle, singing
She set bundle down at her left	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Whistle, singing alternate
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, speaking
Clasped	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs; right raised	Jumping	Singing
She moved the egg shells	Quiet	Whistle, singing
She set up the straw bundle on the board before her	"	Singing
Clasped	"	"
A lighted bundle of spirit money was given her	Jumping	Whistle, singing alternate
A bowl of rice and one of wine were set before her. Some sprays of cypress from the fire-pit were lighted and three sticks of incense laid across the bowls.	Quiet	Singing
A piece of meat was put before her and a piece of wood in her right hand	Squatting	Speaking
She took the three "knives" in her left hand and let the other fall in two pieces	"	"
She poured out the wine slowly	"	Speaking fast
She turned the bowl upside down	"	" "
Hands hanging loosely	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing, speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
(The straw was taken away. The egg had been quietly removed before.)		
Clap 8 times	Jumping	Silent
Out to side, fluttering	"	"
Clasped; hanging beside thighs	Quiet, then jumping	Singing
Clap 8 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap once, let fall	"	"
Clap 11 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(The chicken and hatchet were taken away.)		
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap twice	"	"
(Before her are now the upturned bowl with two pieces of wood on it, one with incense sticks across it, and the three knives, with a bowl back of them.)		
Clap twice	Quiet	Speaking
Clap once	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap; raise right hand	"	"
Clasped	Quiet	Singing, speaking, whistle, speaking, whistle, singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
(The feathers were taken from the fire-pit.)		
Clap 11 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely, then clasped; repeat	Quiet	Singing

4:Michey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS

Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 7 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
(A branch of bamboo and a stick were placed in the ashes.)		
Clap 5 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 6 times; out to side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Clasped	"	Whistle, singing
Clap 9 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
(An egg was placed at her right. The scythe was brought and the board taken away.)		
She took the scythe and sharpened it on the edge of the little tub of water. She set it up on the hearth handle down, took it up, and moved the ashes in the fire-pit.	Squatting	Speaking
She took up pinches of ashes, put them to her ears as before and into the back of her belt	Squatting	Singing
She was given an egg, which she set up on end	"	Speaking
Clap once	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
(Ashes were put into the water in the tub; it was taken away.)		
She threw the scythe twice, almost to the door	Quiet	Speaking
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 6 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet, then jumping	Singing, whistle
She took the bamboo branch in her left hand	Quiet	Speaking
She laid it aside	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing, whistle, alternate
Clasped	Quiet	Repeat thrice
Hanging at side; right raised	Jumping	Singing, whistle
(Another bamboo branch was brought.)		
With her left hand she set it on the hearth	Squatting	Speaking, singing, whistle
(A lighted stick was held under the branch.)		Blowing
She shook the branch		Speaking
(A piece of blue cloth was held under the branch, which was shaken as lighted sticks were held under it.)		Whistle, singing
(More sticks were lighted and used thus.)		
She shook the branch again		Singing
(Sticks were used as if looking for something fallen from the branch.)		
Clap once; then hanging loosely	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Holding edge of bench	"	Whistle, singing
Clasped	Quiet	" "
(Another branch was brought and used as before. Two or more women looked for something and when it was found in rolled-up leaves, they wrapped it in the cloth and took it away. Much concern was shown about this and much care taken to insure getting something.)		
Clasped	Quiet	Singing

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788

Another egg was brought; she set it up on end	Squatting	Speaking
Clasped	*Mu la* back on bench	Singing
She broke a leafless bamboo branch and put it into the ashes	Quiet	Singing, whistle
Hanging beside thighs	"	Speaking
Clasped	"	Singing, whistle
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	" "
Another chicken was brought, from which she took more feathers and put them into the fire	Squatting *Mu la* back on bench	Speaking
Out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely	"	Singing
Clap once; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
She tied a string to the leg of the chicken	"	Singing
Out at side, flattering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely	Quiet	Singing, speaking
She put pinches of ashes to her ears as before	Squatting	" " alternate
An egg was brought; she set it on end	"	Speaking
Clap once; hanging beside thighs	*Mu la* back on bench, feet jumping	Singing
Clap 10 times; out to side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing
Clap 10 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clasped	Quiet	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 12 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Right on ground, as before	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
She put a pinch of ashes at back of belt	Quiet	"
Clap once	Jumping	"
Clap 12 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Right on ground, as before	"	"
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 5 times; at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Speaking
Clasped	Squatting	"
She picked up the hatchet and struck it on the hearth, then in the ashes. She took up pinches of ashes as before, and held them to her ear, then put a pinch in her belt	*Mu la* back on bench	Speaking, singing
She held the piece of meat over the ashes, then put it in them	Squatting	Speaking
Clap once	*Mu la* back on bench	"
Resting on bench	Jumping	Singing
(The piece of meat was taken out.)		
Clap 4 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 69

THE LIFE CYCLE AND RITES OF PASSAGE FOR INDIVIDUALS

Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	Singing
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clasped	Quiet	"
Clap 9 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Hanging loosely in front	Quiet	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	Jumping	"

(The scythe and tub were brought.)

She whetted the scythe, as before; set it on end, handle down; stirred the ashes with it; took up pinches of them, put them to her ear and in her belt.	Squatting	Silent
She tried to set the egg up on end, but failed	"	Singing
She threw the scythe 3 times	*Mu la* back on bench	Speaking
Resting on bench	Jumping	"
Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	"	Silent
Clasped	Quiet	Singing

(Ashes were put in the water in the tub. It was taken away.)

Clap 7 times; out at side, fluttering	Jumping	Silent
Clasped	"	Singing
Hanging beside thighs	"	Singing a long time
Clap once	"	Calling "Mu la"
Hanging beside thighs	"	Whistle

(The egg was taken away.)

She set her hand to swinging as if holding a bowl. In some confusion someone noticed the omission and supplied one hurriedly from those on the tray.	Singing, calling "Mu la"
She set the bowl upside down on the ground.	

[69a]

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 755 791 I had arrived after the ceremony began. On the hearth before her was a partly burned bamboo frame. In the pit, at one side, stood a lighted incense stick. On the tray at one side of the room were a *sheng* of rice with incense sticks and a woman's earring in it, several bowls with some dark liquid in them from a cooked leaf, and spirit money, some burned. Before the house were buffalo horns set on rushes. A spray of thorn tied with long rushes lay on the stone steps before the west end of the house on the south side of the threshing floor (*A* on fig. 12). I saw the mother of the sick child take a bunch of lighted straw and a spray of cassia leaves to a point just beyond the path leading out of the village to the west (*B* on fig. 12). She let the straw burn and stuck the spray in the ground. It was then that I heard the song for the first time.

[696]

788 (c) For Cheng-hsiang, who had been taken by soldiers and was then near Ch'angsha, Hu-
755 nan, until money should be sent to him for
791 traveling expenses. Shamaness, the oldest of the three.

[342]

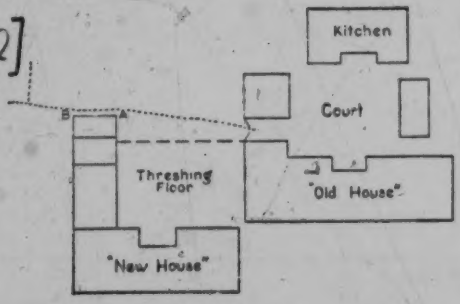


FIG. 12. Plan of "new" and "old" houses, showing the location of the spray of thorn on the threshing floor (*A*) and the point to which the mother took the spray of cassia (*B*).

[69c]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

•788 755 791 She had already begun to sing when I was called in from helping with the sunning of grain. Cheng-hsiang's wife was making a frame of bamboo sticks. On the tray at the side of the room were the *sheng* measures of rice with lighted incense sticks in it, six dishes of a stewed green vegetable, a small pile of unhulled glutinous rice, a bunch of spirit money, and a few incense sticks. In the measure were also several dollar bills, later given to the shamaness. Her whole performance was less stiff, much more natural and easy than that of the younger women. She may not have been able to see through the cloth over her face, but she could certainly see below it. In some of the things she did there seemed to be conscious looking to see what she was doing. Sometimes, also, someone would ask her what to do, and she would give directions before going on with her song or actions.

Soon after I arrived she directed someone to burn spirit money on the floor near the tray, where some had been burned before. A little later she suddenly plunged forward. The iron ring on a tripod which supported the cooking pot and which had been sitting in the fire-pit was taken away. She then took some of the ashes from the pit in her left hand and held them with the right hand folded over the left, as she continued to squat by the hearth. The cupped hands she put to her ears, as others had held the pinches of ashes in their fingers. Then she tucked the ashes into the back of her belt.

She spoke a great deal, mostly in Chinese, but sometimes in Miao. A number of times she called out "P'ei ch'ao," which I was told was a call to the spirit or god of that name to come. I heard another woman make a similar call, which sounded more like "T'ei ch'ao," and again "P'an," while a third called "Mu la."

Her song was complete, but it did not have as prominent a place as in other cases, just came in at intervals, as it were. She also did much less jumping of the feet, sometimes just moved them a little nervously. When she let the hands flutter from the wrist the arms were not held rigidly at the side, but back of the bench on which she sat. Then they were lowered a little and gradually lost their motion before being brought forward. Most of the time she held her hands clasped together

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 quietly in her lap, or before her waist. She had a graceful motion of lifting the hand before the face and turning the palm upward, or with the thumb slightly raised.

755 791 A duck was brought and its wings and feet tied so that it could move but not get away. It was laid on the hearth to one side. The woman who did this then made some double-ended wooden daggers and some bamboo lots, while another made the white paper pennants stuck into cleft sticks. An axe was brought and put into her right hand. She struck it down into the ashes and moved them about, then set it so that the butt was down. She stroked it toward the sharp edge and took up ashes as before. This pinch of ashes was put into a long blue cloth such as is worn as part of the turban. Both she and the person who brought the cloth examined the ashes before they were folded into the cloth and it was taken away.

While she was using the axe a bench was set before the house on the steps at the front door, at the right side as one leaves the house. On it were set the *sheng* measure of rice with four lighted incense sticks, five double-ended wooden daggers, and six of the white paper pennants in it. There were three bowls of wine on one side and two on the other. A long branch of bamboo was set up on the ground and something shaken from it into one of the blue cloths. Before this was finished and the things had been taken away, the shamaness had been given the duck, which she held up by its neck, first loosening the wings and then the feet until the wings fluttered wildly. She squatted by the fire as she did this, then sat back on the bench, holding the duck by its wings. Those who had been at the door returned.

She chanted as I have heard priests chant before they cast lots, something I heard no other shamaness do, and cast the pieces of bamboo four times. They landed three times with both curved sides up and once with split sides up. She took up ashes and put them into a cloth, which Cheng-hsiang's mother took from her turban for the purpose. The axe was laid on the hearth before her. First one duck's egg and then a second she set up on end on the butt end of the axe head, then took it up into her hand, set it upright on the fingers,

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

788 755 791 and allowed it to roll back into the palm, after which she tied it into the cloth. This she tied over her shoulder with the eggs and ashes on her back. She threw the axe as the others had thrown the scythe. A basin of water was brought so that she might wash her hands.

A piece of dried meat was brought and laid on the hearth before her. The frame was set over this and a roof made of four pieces of spirit money. One of Cheng-hsiang's father's shoes was brought, and set beside it. The piece of meat was put into the shoe. She took up the axe and struck the frame and money into the ashes. A child had playfully tried to make a frame, also. Fire was kindled so that all of these might be thoroughly burned up – except the shoe and meat.

She set the hatchet, sharp side down, into the firepit and set the egg on end on the butt end. She put it in her hand as before and then tied it into the cloth. This egg was then under her left arm. Later she took the cloth off and gave it to its owner. Incense and spirit money were burned at the door. She set four chopsticks together so that they stood erect in a bowl of wine. She struck the axe into the firepit so that the chopsticks fell. These were taken away. (When she did this trick and the one of rolling eggs back into her palm, she smiled as if she knew she was doing something smart.) She took up ashes as before and tied them into a cloth, which someone took away after they had examined the ashes in it. She threw the axe several times again, calling "P'ei ch'ao." She began to swing her right hand as if she had a bowl in it. One of the bowls from the tray was set on the back of her hand. She swung it back and forth, then turned it upside down on the floor.

One of her special combinations was a sort of hissing, a single clap of the hands, putting them back of the bench and fluttering them

[11] Graham, 1937, p. 90.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

from the wrist, clapping them before her, then raising the left hand before her face. Once she bent over double as she held her hands behind her and fluttered them. When she put her hand down on the floor before her the thumb touched the floor, the first three fingers were held in a row and the little one back. Sometimes she put her hand before her face in this formation. There was much sighing as if she were exhausted, some coughing. Sometimes she put her hand up under the cloth as if to hold it away from her face. Her song was in Miao. After the feast she continued to sit by the fire and visit with Cheng-hsiang's mother and me for the remainder of the afternoon.

Divination. Divination by means of bamboo lots was a part of such rituals as those performed by priests at childbirth and "the opening of the way," and by one of the shamanesses in case of illness. On one occasion a woman relative of the deceased who remained in the village after the funeral was guest at a meal in another home to which I was also invited. After this meal Mrs. Liu, the only Chinese woman in our village, brought a bowl of rice grains and asked a question. The visitor put a cloth over the bowl so as to press down the grains firmly, then removed it and answered the question from the form the grain took in the bowl. This is comparable to a similar practice among the Ch'uan (River) Miao in Szechuan, which Dr. David Crockett Graham describes as follows:

> When the divining is done by rice, use one bowl of rice and take a cloth and cover it well. The master of the house or a sick person blows his breath three times on the rice and the *tuan kung* 端公 rubs the surface of the rice with his hand. Then when he has finished speaking, he takes the cloth off and examines the rice to see if the grains are perpendicular or horizontal and thus determines the good or ill luck of the family.[22]

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

712 are none to be found. One explanation given by Ch'uan Miao friends is that the danger of fire was too great so that people no longer built their houses so close together. There are two other possible reasons. One is that the Chinese destroyed the strongholds in war and to prevent future rebellions, and the other is that there is no longer danger of raids and attacks from the Lolos. Chinese histories actually mention the destruction of the strongholds.[7]

788 765 There is an old custom that is not always practised according to which when a family moves an iron cooking vessel is buried near the old home as a means of commemorating it. Another old custom now no longer practised is that when a person died in a house the house was destroyed and the family moved to another spot and built a new home.

224 Hunting is a pastime engaged in by the men and boys when game is plentiful, in winter when there is less farm work to do and during the New Year holidays. Sometimes one person goes hunting alone, sometimes two or three men go out into the woods together and at other times a larger number make up a hunting party. In such a party some of the men guard the paths where the animals are likely to come out and others with dogs go towards them through the woods shouting and driving the animals towards their waiting companions. Formerly traps were set, snares were used, and pits were dug, but since the coming of firearms these have fallen into disuse. Bows and arrows and crossbows have almost but not entirely disappeared. The arrows are sometimes poisoned in which case they cause death within a short time.

463 It has already been noted that some Ch'uan Miao, in addition to being farmers, are also when occasion requires carpenters, blacksmiths or masons. A smaller number work in brass or silver, but the best work in all these trades is done by Chinese.

462 Both men and women work in the fields, using the hoe and the sickle, but only men use the plow. It is believed to be sinful for a woman to plow, for a cow or a water-buffalo is a worthy beast and woman is inferior, and if she does use the plow the animal she uses will accuse her of sin after she dies and goes to heaven. Both men and women carry loads on their backs or on carrying poles. Women generally carry water, make yarn from wool, make string from hemp shreds, do most of the sewing, cooking and weaving and do all the embroidery work, leaving the larger share of the farm work to the men. It is therefore customary to speak of one's mother as the old lady inside the house and of one's father as the old man outside the house.

7. This is mentioned in the history of the Prefecture of Suifu, 叙州府志

/203 cont./

One turns to the appropriate deity by means of prayer. which, however, might better be called invocation. One squats or kneels on one leg and puts the hands at chest height with the palms together. When invoking the high Father-Mother spirit, one looks toward heaven and lifts his folded hands in this direction; when invoking other spirits, the ancestors, for instance, one looks at the altar dedicated to the one invoked. In this position and with simple words one informs the deity concerned of his wish; prayer formulas are unknown. The shaman, too converses with the spirits as with human beings; there is neither a special spirit-language nor special magic formulas.

The Meau are also familiar with benedictions, and the person of higher rank pronounces his blessing upon the person lower in rank. Thus, the chief blesses his subjects, the shaman his fellow-tribesmen, the father his children. The person pronouncing the benediction folds his hands in the manner described, stretches them first over the head of the person to be blessed and then up to heaven, and at the same time invokes the Father-Mother spirit, whom he beseeches to bring good fortune to the protégé, to grant him a safe journey, or, in short, to bless the undertaking.

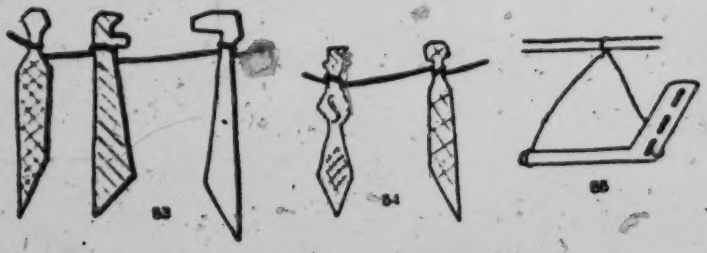
As was already pointed out, the Meau erect places of worship which are regarded as the principal abodes of the spirits and are dedicated to them. In general, sacrifices may be offered to the spirits and to the ancestors only at these places of worship erected for them. The ancestors, for instance, grant protection against the revenge of evil spirits. For this, however, one must explain to them what the /204/ situation is. If one meets an evil spirit in the bush, he runs home as fast as his legs will carry him, in order to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors, who otherwise would not know what has happened and therefore would be unable to help. Then one would be helplessly exposed to the revenge of the evil spirit.

Aside from the ancestors, every Meau builds places of worship and, to be sure, altars (Fig. 41 to Fig. 44), for those spirits with whom he stands in a special relationship and to whom he sacrifices regularly because he needs their protection and their help in particular.

/212/

535 The Meau do not have any processions, purification proce-
[788] dures, or penances, but cultic dancing is known, as has already
[783] been described in detail. As will be recalled, the dance is
[562] purely sacral among the Meau, is performed only by men, and
is always accompanied by the playing of mouth organs. The
Meau women therefore do not dance at all, since they do not
[177] perform any cultic dances. In accordance with this attitude toward
dancing, the Meau do not know any borrowing or loaning of
dances.

778
411



Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords of the Meau.

[531] Figs. 53-55. Spirit-swords carved out of wood, with simple linear designs made with charcoal. 1/18 nat. size. Fig. 55. Spirit-sword made of bronze, 1/20 nat. size.

794 Unknown, too, are any religious societies or clubs, such as,
571 say, a joining together of the young people at the time of
[881] initiation, since nothing like this is known, and, as has been said,
[782] no sacrifices are offered at the onset of puberty.

The concept of the totem is likewise unknown to the Meau;
532 no idols are erected and there are no plastic representations of
778 gods or ancestors. Although the everyday life of the Meau
[779] reveals an intimate association with their ancestors and spirits,
they limit themselves to erecting places of worship for them, but
not images.